/168 cont./

574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 [241] After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspondingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the 574 [576] plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand welcomed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped [345] at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready. Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, [123] let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his [624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One 302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black 531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/v/

Foreword

114
•[576]

áma! -- you!
úra! -- I!

So runs the simple formula with which people introduce themselves to each other on the Kulisehu, and I would gladly spare the kind reader what follows, if I did not also have to bid him to greet my "younger brothers," my companions on the journey, and, in addition, have a few other things at heart.

[601] For "younger brother" and "cousin" the Indians have one and the same word; thus, their designation truly fits our special artist, Wilhelm von den Steinen of Düsseldorf, in its fullest sense, for, according to our concepts, he is my cousin, to be sure, but he is commonly taken for my younger brother. He rowed down the Schingú /Xingu/ with me as early as 1884.

The second man, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich of Berlin, was likewise no newcomer to Brazil; in Espíritu Santo he had already become closely acquainted with the Botokuden /Botocudo/; after the completion of our joint undertaking, he had traveled the Araguay /Araguaia/ and the Purus and thus today has probably seen more of the interior of the mighty realm than any other German traveler. He is to be thanked for the photographs and the body measurements.

The recording of the route and the astronomical findings, along with geological investigations, were undertaken by Professor Dr. Peter Vogel of Munich. In 1882-83, on the German Polar Expedition to South Georgia, whose deputy leader he was, we two shared the cramped cabin in joy and sorrow for a year; in 1887 he again felt a powerful impulse to set out, and so he was willing to carry on in new territory the work of Dr. Otto Claus, our /vi/ Antarctic colleague and the geographer of the first Schingú expedition.

/52 cont./

123 609 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

[501] [29] [411] The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad, crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 152 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had

● [576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and

551 622 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 609 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

/53 cont./

122 Who was more pleased, Tumayaua, who hurried on ahead in order to announce us and rapidly disappeared from view, or [489] we ourselves, is difficult to say. We trudged behind one another along the narrow path in the terrain cleared by burning, stepped [361] into the forest after a few minutes, heard loud shouting and /54/ [342] a confusion of calls, and a few hundred feet farther, after we had crossed a crystal-clear brook on a tree trunk serving as a bridge, we came in sight of three beehive-like huts which had 609 an open space between them. Awaiting us there, with Tumayaua enthusiastically gesticulating at the head, was a naked, brown band of men and, in the rear guard, of women and children, all gathered in a tight group and half embarrassed, half joyful, • [576] but in any case most surprised. The men stepped toward us, stretching out the right hand, and said "ámа = "you," "that is you," or "ámа kχarάiba" = "you, the Karaibe /Carib/."

829 Not they, but we are the "Karaiben" in their eyes, and I, who among us speak of the Karaiben tribe of the Bakaïrí, was called there the "pímа kχarάiba," the chief of the Karaiben.

000

/55/

Chapter V.

Bakaïrí Idyl.

I.

Information about Kulisehu and Kuluëne. Antonio and Carlos back. A part of the world in which there is no laughing. Village layout. Introduction of the persons. My flute-house. In Paleko's house. Hospitality. Bean-cooking and dance songs. External appearance of the Indians. Nakedness and feeling of modesty. Eating and feeling of modesty. Tobacco club. Pantomime: river journey, days' journeys, tribes, work with the stone ax. Presentation of "mäh" and "wauwau." Tobacco planting. Fishing in the lagoon. Canoe-building.

/66 cont./

126 dispute. When I then asked several women at the same time for
291 their uluris and precluded any misunderstanding by pointing to the collection, it was granted me unhesitatingly /"anstandslos"/ and laughingly.

264 On the other hand, I observed a clear feeling of modesty
576 on an entirely different occasion, and, to be sure, in -- eating. I had an opportunity to confirm it only among the men, and I should imagine that it is even less likely to be absent among the women.

On the evening of 13 September, outside on the plaza where we men stood talking beside the mandioca rack, Tumayaua offered me a piece of fish that I, overjoyed, wanted to eat immediately. All of them bowed their heads, looked down in front of them or turned away with expressions of painful embarrassment, and Paleko pointed to my hut. They were ashamed. Astonished and taken aback, I went into the flute-house to eat the fish. I had not yet finished my meal when Kulekule entered; he wanted to be shown in greater detail the use of a fishhook that had been presented to him. With a face that clearly said, "Ah, you are not yet finished," he sat down on the floor, silent, turned away and with head bowed, and waited. On the next evening I again received fish outside, but it was already dark; I ate, turning modestly toward the dark background of trees and thus did not seem to give offense.

When Paleko brought me the pot of little fish, we two were alone in the flute-house; he turned his back to me and did not say a word during the long time while I was struggling with the bones. I gave Tumayaua some of our bean dish; he took the portion and walked as far as his house, where he sat down, ate, and in between, but without turning his head, called over and took part in our conversation. He had thus quite purposely removed himself. In the house the women were eating, each by herself, in the vicinity of the fire; they brought the men their meal, and each one ate at his place. Alakuai, for instance, was making himself very comfortable; lying in his hammock, he reached down to the pot on the floor, dipped into it with his fingers,

/66 cont./

264 and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered
576 another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Karajá /Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

264 Now among the Bakaïrí this etiquette was definitely
276 stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they com-
123 pletely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country, I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this case, however, it was more a matter of something improper; I had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

264 If we must admit, along with Heine, that we all are naked
261 inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification for our feeling of modesty, the Bakaïrí, too, cannot be offended in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away.
[146] I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the Bakaïrí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more to mandioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was casting hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

000 Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the expedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

/69 cont./

276 in his mouth and light. The smoke was inhaled. They even smoked my heavy black tobacco in the same manner and in the same size, and they tolerated it without difficulty, although theirs was light as straw.

517 Not a sound came from the houses; the plaiting had been pushed in front of the entrance. Were the women not lying awake in the hammocks? The two araras, who during the day were in the habit of cawing from the roof poles, were asleep on a partly withered palm. No insects were annoying us. For two or three hours we sat under the star-studded dome of the heavens, surrounded all around by the dark mass of the woods. The smallest cloud that rose anywhere was observed and became the subject of a discussion about where from and where to. As soon as an animal sound became audible in the woods, everyone would be silent for a moment, waiting to see whether it was repeated, and then they would whisper to each other "a tapir," "an armadillo," or the like, while one man half mechanically whistled in imitation of the animal cry. There was also no lack of in-
517 voluntary sounds. Sucking sounds with saliva, belching, or break-
576 ing wind was not restrained. Bakaïrí sum, nihil humani a me
[514] alienum puto. But the moment someone behaved too badly, there immediately followed, as a direct reflex movement of all the colleagues, a brief violent spitting to one side, without an interruption in the conversation. To be sure, if there were a
[626] repetition, Tumayaua or Paleko would mutter something that seemed to mean, "Confound it, we have a guest, after all," and the culprit would lose himself in the shadows six paces away. It was very patriarchal.

823 We discussed in detail the subject most important for me,
829 the geography of the Kulisehu. The river was drawn in the sand, the tribes were enumerated and designated with maize kernels. Thus I gradually learned to understand the correct relationship of the Kulisehu and Kuluëne and learned that the main body of the Nahuquá tribes, each of which was designated by a special
829 name, lived on the Kuluëne. All people were either good,
577 "kúra," or bad, "kurápa." The distinction was made chiefly,

/76 cont./

153 Their need for probing into the nature of new things was
197 exhausted, except for the question as to whether I had made them, with the second one as to their names /77/ "Eséti?" "Eséti?" "What is that called?" cried the whole company in unison, and they all took honest pains to repeat after me the Portuguese words. One or another would often go on whispering the word to himself for a long time while the conversation went on. They were unable to pronounce two consonants in succession. But if now and then they succeeded in correctly reproducing the appropriate word, their joy was great, and I had the impression that the object itself now also seemed more familiar to them. "Papéra," from the Portuguese papel, "paper," was given as the name for my notebook, and whereas at first they could not examine and touch the incomprehensible thing enough, they could now quickly come to terms with it: it was quite simply "papéra."

522 Anywhere in the world a foreign language is encountered,
[192] one will very soon know what "a pretty girl" is. Their "pekóto iwáku" or the more endearing "pekóto iwakulukúlu" I could translate for them with the words "moça bonita," which they were well able to imitate and which they now practiced with delight. I had first taught my "moça bonita" to Eva; she laughed, blushed, and pronounced it daintily and distinctly. She continued to laugh, poked her husband Kulekule in the ribs -- just as a vigorous person who is pleased about a good idea would do among us -- the two whispered together, and I was asked to say what "a handsome man" might be. When I once imitated Tumayaua's attempts at Portuguese, which in truth were not very successful, even though he was chief, the entire chorus laughed so much that they were unable to talk for laughing; they fairly yodeled with abandon.

• 576 These were the gloomy and reserved Indians. If the talk became too much for them, everybody yawned openly and without holding the hand in front of the mouth. It was not to be denied that the wholesome reflex was catching here, too. Then one after another would stand up and I remained alone with my guard.

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

áma, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba iwakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kulisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

B /102 cont./
123 been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

W We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the
122 Mehinakú on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not
B hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a
461 good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds; a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

W [142] [302] ←

B 252

Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

W On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left
131 belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The
B harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied.
504 W [531] Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakairí shoved
B the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars
581 and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and
B beijús, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú
576 hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck,
B on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was
[157] rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

/248 cont./

128 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/249/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kxura-itano, let us question the Bacaeris concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

/250/ II

794 The Conception of the World

The Bacaeris believe that man consists of two elements: kxa'atopūri, "our shadow, going /andadura/ or running /corrida/," and kxati, "our shirt," or kxutubi, "our skin." They may be translated as "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

171
774
• 576

10. Matias Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacaeris, were also

/250 cont./

771
774
• 576

Caribas: "The manner of greeting is for one to say to another, 'Is it you? Have you come? Have you arrived? Are you well?' and no one speaks to the guests upon their arrival, nor do they speak for a while, because they say that they are waiting for their souls to arrive, which is arrant nonsense." (Conv. en Piritú, 62, repr. Madrid, 1892.) The greeting between Bacaeris is ama, "you," to which one replies, ura, "I"; or mawili, "you came," to which one replies, ẽẽ kɨauili, "yes I came."

576

774 When we sleep, we dream says the piahi;--when we sleep, our shadow converses with the /251/ spirits (yamũra);--our shadow travels far, --when our shadow returns, we awaken;--when our shadow is afraid, at night, when it is time to sleep, we talk;--while our shadow sleeps, we dream;--we climb trees, we climb hills;--we walk with the yamũras, --we drink mingáu /a manioc gruel or paste/, we eat, etc.

The egress is abnormal, but temporary, when a person faints from fright, because, with much shouting and fanning with ipenakóro leaves, there is success in getting the shadow to return, or when one has offended the piahis and yamũra, because, if duly propitiated, they pardon the crime and permit the shadow to return, as we shall see later.

[761] It is abnormal and permanent at death.

75 The Bacaeris, in a very expressive phrase, claim that they do not fall ill from sickness itself (to-ewanũ-ɲe Bakaɛ́ri tõwane-pa); illness is always injected by sorcerers (ome-odo, "lord of poison"), and the poisons, all of vegetable origin, are